5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

have charge of all funerary arrangements, just as though it were the funeral of the Tui Langi (King of the Sky), Eitumatupua.

It is the descendants of Ahoeitu, he who was murdered in the sky, who have successively been Tui Tonga. The descendants of Talafale are the Tui Pelehake. The descendants of Matakehe[36] are not known, having become extinct. The descendants of Maliepo are called Lauaki. The descendants of Tui Loloko are still called Tui Loloko.[37]

The Tui Tonga and their families are of the highest rank, because Ahoeitu came originally from the sky. He was the first chief appointed from the sky, the Tui Tonga of all the world of brown people as far as Uea (Wallis island), the ruler of the world. His divine origin makes his descendants real chiefs. In fact, it became customary to ask of one who is proud or thinks himself a chief: "Is he a chief? Did he descend from the sky?"

The son of Ahoeitu was Lolofakangalo, and he became Tui Tonga when Ahoeitu died; and the son of Lolofakangalo was Fangaoneone and he became the third Tui Tonga. The son of Fangaoneone was Lihau, and he was the fourth Tui Tonga. The son of Lihau was Kofutu; he was the fifth Tui Tonga. Kaloa, the son of Kofutu, was the sixth Tui Tonga. His son Mauhau was the seventh Tui Tonga. Then followed Apuanea, Afulunga, Momo, and Tuitatui. It was Tuitatui who erected the Haamonga-a-Maui, or Burden-of-Maui (the well-known trilithon of Tongatabu).

The following account concerns the Tui Tonga Tuitatui and what he did on the raised platform house (*fale fatataki*). His sister went to him. Her name was Latutama and she was female Tui Tonga. Her attendant followed her to Tuitatui's house. After his sister arrived Tuitatui ascended to his platform and then he began his lies, for, behold, he had desire for his sister to go up to the platform, so that they might have sexual intercourse. From above he said to his sister below: "Here is a vessel coming, a vessel from Haapai very likely; a very large vessel."

And Latutama answered: "Oh, it is your lies." "It is not my lies," retorted Tuitatui. "Come up and see the vessel yourself." Then his sister climbed up and sat with him on the platform, while her attendant remained below, and Tuitatui and his sister had sexual intercourse. That was the way of that Tui Tonga, and it was known to the attendant.

They dwelt together at their place of abode in Hahake (eastern Tongatabu), the name of which was Heketa (near the modern village of Niutoua). The trilithon called the Burden-of-Maui and Tuitatui's terraced stone tomb are situated there. There was also there the Olotele[38] (or dwelling-place

[36] Matakehe is mentioned in some texts as "a band of Tui Tonga's warriors."
[37] For a brief account of the kings of various countries being sent down from the sky by Similau, see page 194.
[38] Cf. Olotele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaiian Islands.

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539 of the Tui Tonga) and the course for the game played by the Tui Tonga
173 with the *sikaulutoa* (a reed throwing-stick with a head of *toa*, or casuarina
368 wood).

539 The sons of Tuitatui were Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. When Tui-
173 tatui died, his son Talaatama succeeded him.

643 Then Talaatama spoke to his brother Talaihaapepe concerning the undesirability of Heketa as a place of residence. Said he: "Let us move and leave this dwelling place, because of our love for our two vessels; lest here they go aground and be broken to pieces, for this is a very bad anchorage." His brother Talaihaapepe replied: "It is true, but where will we go?" And Talaatama answered: "To Fangalongonoa (*fanga*, shore; *longonoa*, quiet), lest our vessels get wrecked." That is the reason why they moved their vessels to Fangalongonoa and made their dwelling near by. The place where they dwelt was called Mua. They took their two vessels with them. The name of one vessel was "Akiheuho," and the name of the other vessel was "Tongafuesia."

539 That is the reason why Laufilitonga[29] dwells at Mua. It is the dwell-
173 ing place prepared by Talaatama and Talaihaapepe. It was they who first
643 moved from Hahake (referring to Heketa on the northeast coast of Tong-
361 atabu) and it was they who prepared Mua. And all of the Tui Tonga who have succeeded them have dwelt there, even unto Laufilitonga, the present Tui Tonga.

539 When Talaatama died, he was succeeded by Tui Tonga Nui Tama Tou.
173 This was not a person, but a piece of *tou* (*Cordia aspera*) wood which Talai-
643 haapepe caused to be set up as Tui Tonga, for he did not himself wish to become Tui Tonga immediately after his brother Talaatama. It being Talaihaapepe's desire that a dummy Tui Tonga be enthroned, the piece of *tou* wood was dressed in tapa and fine mats and duly appointed. A royal wife (*moheofo*), too, was appointed for the Tama Tou. After it had been three years Tui Tonga, the vault stones were cut for the tomb and the Tama Tou was buried in the vault.[30] Then it was pretended that his wife was pregnant, so that she might give birth to a Tui Tonga. The fictitious child was none other than the wily Talaihaapepe, the brother of Talaatama, who was then proclaimed Tui Tonga. A proclamation was made to the people of the land that the Tui Tonga's wife (the *moheofo*) had given birth to a son whose father was the recently deceased Tui Tonga Tama Tou. The truth of the matter was that it was really Talaihaapepe, who was at once proclaimed Tui Tonga.

[29] The last Tui Tonga, who was living when this account was first written, and who died on Dec. 9, 1865.

[30] William C. McKern, my colleague in Tonga, carefully examined the terraced stone tomb reputed to be that of the Tama Tou, but could find no trace of a vault.

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Pages 103-104. The environs of Nukualofa

1. This poem is assigned, but apparently incorrectly, to Falepapalangi, the bard of Hihifo, who is represented by a number of pieces in this collection. The seventeenth and eighteenth lines and the closing portion of the poem indicate that the composer was a man of Vavau. These lines may be ironical, or meant to indicate that he has become accustomed to the praise of Vavau in his work and has developed a fondness for that part of the group. It is much more probable that the lines about Vavau are to be taken literally. The piece may have been composed by Falepapalangi's great rival Mamaeaepoto.

2. Reckoning from Tonga the "wind from the back of Koloa" would be about northeast.

3. Tongataeapa (Tonga without respect) is a portion of the modern town of Nukualofa, where a number of chiefs lived. The name indicates that the locality was so chiefly that it paid respect to no other locality, but had respect paid to it.

4. Onemalama was a bathing-place of the chiefs in Tongataeapa; it is now filled up.

5. There is a *ngingie uta*, land *ngingie*, and a *ngingie tahi*, sea, or seashore, *ngingie*.

6. Veitata, a pool.

7. Names of localities or compounds.

8. Veimusieua; a pool in Nukualofa, near the home of the chief Ata.

9. This is not a compound, but a clump of *kahikahi*, a fern-like plant.

10. The meaning of this line not clear. A slight emendation, changing *hono* to *hoto*, would give the meaning "my mind has been hidden," which would be in keeping with other lines, indicating the poet's ignorance of some of the localities.

11. Malaealoa, in the modern Nukualofa, is a *malae* (burial ground) belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and his family.

12. Faletuipapai is a burial ground belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua and his family. It is alongside Malaealoa, and the two burial grounds are now joined in one.

13. Pulepulekai is the site of the present British Residency and Consulate. There is a cape of the same name in Vavau.

14. Tupouveiongo, or simply Veiongo, is the hill on which the Wesleyan Church in Nukualofa stands; it is called, since its application to this Christian use, Saione, Zion. Veiongo (sounding water) is said to have been given to the hill because the sound of flowing water could be heard by placing the ear to the ground.

15. Felemaka, a locality inland in Nukualofa is now the dwelling of a Wesleyan native minister.

16. Mataloko, Ngalulahi and Sisilouango are the names of headlands or eminences (*matanga*) in Vavau.

17. Tatauoalo means the top of the hill Talau in Vavau.

18. Falefilimoto is given by Gifford as a sea-cliff in Vavau. A timber used in house-building is termed *filimoto*.

Pages 104-105. Vavau and Haapai

1. Keitahi and Tausisivavaki are beaches in Vavau.

2. Lofia is the volcano in Tofua, Haapai. Vailahi (Great water) would seem to be the crater lake of this volcano. That the volcanic cone is in the lake is a peculiar construction. Their being in close association must be understood without pressing the local significance of 'i. It is said, however, that Lofia is the name of the god who lies within the crater and spurts out fire and smoke and stones.

3. Paluki is a beach, affording excellent anchorage for small boats, in Lifuka, Haapai. Kasivaki is unidentified, but is evidently a place in the same locality.

4. Loupua (Leaf of *pua*, a plant with sweet-smelling blooms) is a nickname for the king, possibly the King of Haapai. The people of Haapai generally are said to be sometimes called *pua*. Haapai is a cluster of islets, scattered so that its people spend more time at sea than do those of any other part of Tonga. This exposure to wind and weather is said to give them a ruddy complexion, whence the nickname *pua*, for the red blooms of the plant. Pangai is on the island of Lifuka, Haapai.

5. When vessels visit Haapai they put in at Lifuka, but it is possible that the remains of the *Port-au-Prince*, in which Mariner arrived in 1806 are indicated. The *Port-au-Prince* was cut out on the sea-front of Lifuka. She was burned, but her final resting place was in shallow water and doubtless a little wreckage was visible.

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Pages 119-120. If there be a stranger 533

1. This line is the refrain, sung after every line. 539
2. Haapuopuai, a pool on shore near Mua.
3. Talilaki, a difficult opening in the reef passed through in going by sea from Nukualofa to Mua. 103
4. Nukufeheaki; unidentified in this locality, is probably an islet. 103
5. The *mohokoi*, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers; is apparently that known to Europeans as ylang-ylang (*Cananga odorata*). 103
6. Apparently a woman is represented as the speaker, addressing a lover who has come over the sea, and must return to the land whence he came. Oil is given by women. 824
7. Vaiola and Hunibush are nicknames apparently of chiefs and lovers of the speaker's own land. She would have given the stranger oil and garlands, but these other two have prevented her, at least from giving as much as she had intended. 551
8. Halaleva is a road near Nukualofa, famed for the plentifulness of its fragrant plants and flowers. The women of this favored spot scent themselves by placing leaves in the *kona*, the fold of the *vala* at the waist. 103 302
9. The names mentioned in this passage are all of localities. 103
10. The *faonelua* is a species of *Pandanus*, very rare and highly valued. One of these trees stands in Mua, and is commonly reported to be the only one in Tonga. 824
11. Lapaha, a part of Mua. 103
12. The reference is to *funganiua*, the *sisi*, leaf girdle and skirt, with a double row (*fungani*) of plaiting entwined with flowers, at the top. 291
13. At Mua festivals and garlands are so common that the fragrant *sisi* is the girdle even of commoners. 291
14. The green in Mua, Feingakotone, is where the festivals and sporting contests (*kotone*) of the Tui Tonga were held. It is not so much a name as a descriptive title of this place, *feinga* meaning doing-place, place where a thing is done. The word is much like the English Sports Ground. 368 192 103
15. Folaosioeiki, a place name.
16. This line is not clear. Provisionally I have taken Takuimalae as the name of a *malae*, but taku, or *takui*, may be a tree standing on a green (*malae*).
17. Takuilau, Ahofakasiu, and Fepaki are place names; Tangitangi is probably a place name also, though the word means opening of the buds, and it is possible that the line should read, "Takuilau with opening flowers." 103

Page 121-125. Chanties

1. "Carried astern," going astern, may mean that the chanty was sung while the canoe was going astern, or the reference may allude to something in the form of the chanty itself. The composer says that he should be rewarded with sweet-smelling garlands (*pipitongi* and *lolohea*), or that the chanty itself is pleasant like these fragrant things. For a different interpretation see Gifford (21, p. 17). 502
2. Keitahi and Falofilimoto are localities on the weather shore of Vavau. 103
3. The sites of Tuniloa and Tele are not identified. Both names are listed by Gifford; but not as of natural features suitable to this contest. The lookout place (*matanga*) is a commanding position whence a good view of sea or land can be obtained. The same word is used of a thing seen, a notable object; and also of the spectators at a festival. 103 192
4. Fangmofuike (Beach of earthquake) is a beach in Vavau, evidently where the women resort to bathe and dress their hair with lime. This is unlikely a reference to any particular woman, but a general description of what happens at this beach. 103
5. These verses appear to be rather an ungallant address to a lady, intimating that she must look elsewhere for a lover.
6. Valefanau is a locality near Kolovai, the principal village of Hihifo. Iloitunga is probably the name of a place in the same neighborhood. 103
7. This is an old chanty, still used in dragging sleds on which large presentations of food are placed (*toho umu*). The *pehipaki* is a sea creature popularly called blue-bottle. The singer likens himself to sea creatures able to outlast the rigors and hardships of the sea. The term *finanga* here means one who contends with and overcomes sea, cold, and wind. 483 825

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The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maolunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepaeokautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manaui.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

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Plan of Lapaha. (See figure 46.)

Lapaha proper:

a, fortification wall.
b, fortification moat.
c, gateway.
d, Olotele, enclosure and house of the Tui Tonga.
e, Tokomatupa, stone post.
f, house of Kautai.
g, malae of the Tui Tonga.
h, mound Takuilau.
i, malae Fanakava.
j, langis, royal tombs: 1, Tuoteau; 2, Tauatonga; 3, Katoa; 4, Tuofefafa; 5, Sinai; 6, Taetaea; 7, unnamed langi; 8, Tafaua; 9, Leka; 10, Tauhala; 11, Nukulau, a; 12, Nukulau, b; 13, unnamed langi; 14, unnamed langi; 15, Faapite; 16, Malualonga; 17, Puipui; 18, Nakulukilangi; 19, Langalangafehi; 20, Paepaeotelea; 21, Namoala; 22, unnamed *faitoka*.

Moalunga:

k, Fonuamotu, dwelling of the Tui Haatakalaua.
l, Nukukausiala.
m, Falesinifu of the Tui Haatakalaua.
n, cohabital house.
o, *faitoka* for wives of the Tui Haatakalaua.
p, Falekili.
q, well.
r, Vakaniua, anchorage island.
s, Tukumotofa, house of Lauaki.
t, Malama, bathing place.
u, house called Milo.

Loamanu, burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua: 1, Falepulemaalo; 2, Loamanu; 3, Faletuipapai; 4, cemetery of Luani; 5, stone wall; 6, house of Afu Haalaufuli, caretaker.

Tatakamotonga:

v, house of the Tui Kanokupolu.
w, Avaui, house of priest.
x, the house Matangipuomai.
y, Falehau, king's guest house.
z, the god-house Kikiloi.

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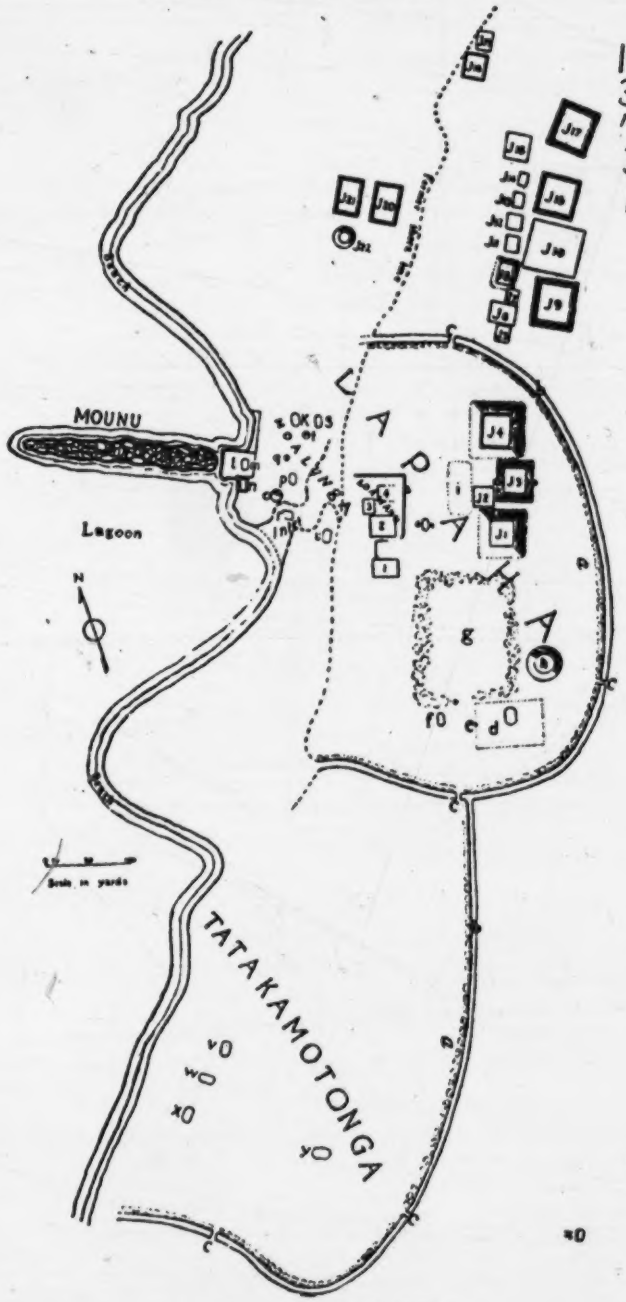

FIGURE 46.—Plan of Lapaha

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 361 [363] [368] [137] through its center. The yard of the Catholic church occupies a part of its western half and other modern houses and fenced-in yards now cross its boundaries. A few *ovava* trees are still standing and the roots of the tree Manaui are still to be seen.

172 34 [368] [643] Southeast of the *malae* is the mound called Takuilau (*taku*, Fijian term meaning land at the back of a mountain; *i*, in; Lau, a group of islands in Fiji). This is a circular mound of sand, with irregular surface nearly 50 yards in base diameter, where, some say, were buried all refuse materials intimately pertaining to the physical body of the Tui Tonga. Blood from wounds, hair, vomit or anything else that was considered to be a severed part of the kingly body was carefully preserved and buried in this sand pile. From another source comes the contradictory statement that Takuilau was the house-mound of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the oldest sister of the Tui Tonga. [342] This mound, however, is entirely unlike any house-mound observed in Tonga. Not only is its shape different but Tongan house-mounds were not built of sand unless the foundation and the land immediately adjoining were also of sand. This mound, on the other hand, has much the appearance of a burial place.

172 361 Immediately north of the *malae* was a broad clearing, having much the appearance of a broad road. It appears to have had no name but is said to have been 15 to 20 "fathoms" (about 100 feet) in width and to have been lined by large *ovava* trees.

172 368 The northern part of the fortified area is occupied by four great stone langis of the Tui Tonga (pp. 39, 56, 58).

644 Just west of these tombs was an area called Fanakava. Its boundaries cannot now be determined, but it is said that one side touched the langis and that the other side merged into the great clearing. Fanakava was a rectangular and oblong area covered by a grassy turf. Some describe it as surrounded by a reed fence, others as without a fence. It was a *malae* of the Tui Tonga, where he occasionally presided over his kava circle. There was no house, priest, or guardian of this place, yet there was one peculiar, religious tradition [696] associated therewith. Within its boundaries refugees from retribution were safe from attack (12).

172 363 There is every indication that the old road did not follow the course of the present highway through Mua. Rather, it avoided the fortified area, passing south and east of the embankment and extending east and northeast to parallel the eastern margin of the row of langis.

172 368 764 Outside the fortification, the langis continue as two parallel rows comprising 13 structures. North of these two rows are two other langis. On the flat outside of the ancient shore line are two langis, 50 feet south of which is a large *faitoka* with the lids of two stone vaults exposed to view on its

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

superior surface. All of these langis, 4 inside and 17 outside of the fortified area, are considered as being in Lapaha (pp. 36-61).

Maolunga includes the dwelling house, outbuildings and burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua family, said to have been first built and occupied by Moungamotua, the first Tui Haatakalaua, and the younger brother of Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafekai.

The dwelling house called Fonuamotu was a large thatched building of the better class standing upon a low, earthen *paepae* about 50 yards from the present shore line.

Southwest of this house stood a mound called Nukukausiala which formed the *paepae* of the house called Falesinifu (House-of-concubines) where the common wives of the chieftain dwelt. As it appears today this mound is essentially a rectangular platform of earth, 110 feet long, 75 to 91 feet wide, 3 feet high on its land side, and 8 feet above the bottom of the lagoon. More than half of the mound stands out from the shore upon subaqueous foundations. Its sides are faced with loosely piled coral stones, many of large size. Some of the slabs are dressed and others show a rude smoothing. The eastern wall of the mound is so sloping as to permit walking up the incline. The inclination of the other three walls is about 70°.

Immediately south of Nukukausiala is a somewhat similar platform, 35 feet wide. On the lagoon side where the structure just overlaps the low-tide mark, its top is 3.5 feet above the lagoon bottom; on the land side the height is 2.3 feet. The vertical retaining walls are built partly of rough stones and partly of dressed slabs. In the seaward wall, close to the northwestern corner of the platform, is a large, flat, circular stone, 1 foot thick and 10 feet in diameter, a natural coral growth known as brain-coral or mushroom-coral. The stone stands on edge 6.5 feet above the top of the platform. It is called Filimoimaka, the name of the chieftain who brought it from near Kolonga and presented it as a gift to the Tui Haatakalaua. Its purpose and use seem to have been purely ornamental. On this mound stood the house which served as the cohabital house of the chieftain and his common wives. No general name for this type of house, or specific name for this particular house, could be found.

From the western end of Nukukausiala and extending out into the lagoon is an irregular pile of large, rough, coralline rocks about 25 feet in width and 500 to 600 feet in length, called Mounu. The formation is undoubtedly artificial. A common story accounts for this rocky isle as built up from the discarded oven-stones of the great sailing vessel *Lomipeau*, the boat that is reputed to have brought stone slabs from Wallis Island as material for one of the large langis. Another account explains this pile of stones as the beginning of a causeway that the Tui Tonga Pau started to build across the lagoon

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172 173 34 from Mua to the Tukutonga point east of Nukualofa (p. 18). The first account needs no comment; the second is highly improbable.

172 764 [368] [644] About 50 feet southeast of Nukukausiala is a circular, round topped sand mound, 40 feet in base diameter and 3 feet high. It is the burial mound (*faitoka*) where the common wives of the Tui Haatakalaua were buried.

172 344 [368] [764] [644] A few yards northeast of this *faitoka* is the low, oval, earthen mound where the house called Falekilikili formerly stood. This house served as a place where the small, black, volcanic pebbles called *kilikili*, used in decorating grave mounds, were sorted and oiled previous to use. Ordinarily this house was tapu to every one. Only after a death in the Tui Haatakalaua family were the old women from among the chieftain's retainers permitted to enter this house and perform the duties associated with it. Close to the north side 172 312 of Falekilikili was a shallow, funnel-shaped well where the old women washed their hands after oiling the *kilikili* stones.

172 133 172 503 The inlet from the lagoon is now nothing more than a small mangrove swamp, but anciently it is said to have contained sufficient water to permit large, double-hulled sailing vessels to enter and anchor. Traces of stone work about the edges of this swamp suggest that the channel was at least partly artificial. The stones seen are dressed coral slabs, generally showing only their tops above ground at the swamp edge.

172 [133] [504] [552] In the center of the inlet, opposite the *faitoka*, there is a small island called Vakaniua. It was at this island that the sailing vessel of the Tui Haatakalaua was moored when at the home port. The island derived its name from the boat, the name being progressively handed down from one boat to its successor. The original boat derived its name from having carried the chieftain Fotofili to the island of Niuafoou, north of the Vavau group.

172 342 644 [362] About 50 yards east of the house Fonuamotu stood the house called Tukumotafa, the dwelling of Lauaki, ranking matapule (non-chiefly official) in the suite of the Tui Haatakalaua. It is now marked by an earthen *paepae* of the usual shape with its major axis about 35 feet long.

172 312 [368] About half way between the house of the chieftain and that of his ranking matapule was the chieftain's bathing place, called Malama. It is a funnel-shaped, circular basin about 20 feet in diameter, said originally to have been one "fathom" deep but now not more than 2 feet deep and quite dry. It is not known whether the bath was naturally supplied with water, which would necessarily be brackish, or was filled with rain water from the roofs of the houses, said to have been the source of supply of many of these bathing places.

172 764 [368] The cemetery of the Tui Haatakalaua lay inside the ancient shore line. It now consists of four stone-walled burial platforms, collectively called Loamanu, a name derived from the largest of the burial structures. (See p. 58.)

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery. 172 349 [361]

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga. 172 342 [362] 172 342 644

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated. [362]

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications. [362] [712]

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high. 172 351 644 [342]

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35 172 346 [368]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto.*

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

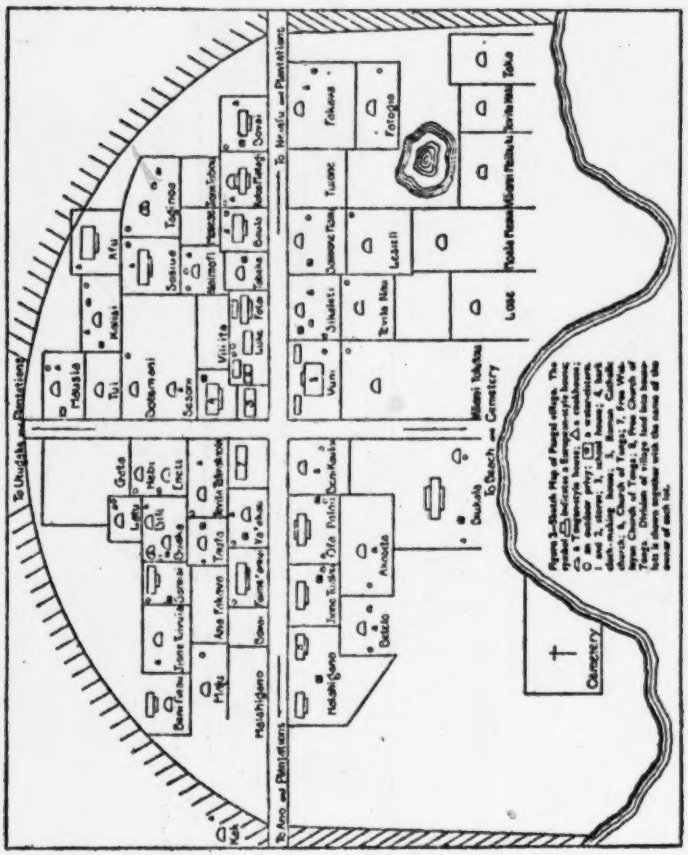
Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gathe-

14

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai


To Ha'ato and Plantations
To Ha'ato and Plantations
To Nuku'alofa and Plantations
To Beach and Cemetery
Cemetery
Fakava
Fatogia
Tuione
Lotaki
Lote
Vuna
Ahoata
Dotaio
Fakaongo
Mataahigano
Ha'ato
Tafoa
Vaitabu
Pangai
Houma
Tui
Kolisi
Tafehoa
Sosiua
Vaitita
Sakopo
Tokeo
Fale Tokeo
Fale Fetoki
Fale Tokeo
Fale Fetoki
Fale Tokeo
Fale Fetoki

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2) sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside.

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

ner in his book on the Tonga Islands. The summit of this mound is now crowned by a good chapel of native construction, which affords an excellent land-mark to navigators making for the anchorage; and it also stands as a very prominent emblem of the Gospel triumphs that have been achieved over the former habits of the people.

Looking eastward, Bagaimotu and a cluster of other islands, stretching away to the north-east, shut out the "*Hahake*," or eastern end of Tonga, from sight, whilst *Hihifo* and the island of Atata bound the prospect on the extreme west.

The town of Nukualofa may be regarded not only as the capital of Tongatabu, but as the metropolis of the little ocean empire of King George Tubou. It has risen from the obscurity of a small village, and has become the centre of religious influence and the chief seat of political authority, while several of the ancient royal residences have been almost entirely deserted. It is partly indebted for its importance to its admirable situation on the seaboard, but most of all to the fact, that Christian converts from various heathen towns were drawn thither, during successive years, that they might reap the full benefit of Missionary instruction, and be freed also from the persecutions to which they were subjected by their heathen friends. A short description of this town will serve to indicate the general appearance and arrangements of all others.

Nukualofa is intersected by tolerably wide paths, kept scrupulously free from all rank vegetation and dirt. These paths are bounded by the neat reed fences which enclose the *abis* or residential sections of the various chiefs and their retainers. These

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

361 Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open
[344] building devoted to the reception of strangers, and
to the transaction of all public business. Around
[351] this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of
several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and
[764] cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the
right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies
a burial-ground, where the remains of two mission-
aries have been interred, near the tombs of the
leading native families.

361 Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is
368 reached. That which stood there in 1846, mea-
797 sured one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning
[491] from thence to the left by a road leading towards
Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached.
These consisted, at the time specified, of a large
printing-office, containing three presses with all
their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that
building lay the dwellings required for three Mis-
sion families. These were erected upon separate
[417] *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole
[245] being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a
magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the
entire frontage to the road.

797 After the bustle of landing our stores was over,
the active duties of Mission life immediately com-
797 menced. Among these, the acquirement of the
122 language was felt to be the thing of greatest im-
portance. We had not been idle in this matter
since reaching the islands: but still, in the pre-
vailing religious excitement, and the consequent
increase of labour devolving upon our senior col-
league, Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for
prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence.
[123] We longed to take an active part in the religious

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

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[788]

ritual became more elaborate, and an educated priesthood officiated. Religious places of worship conformed to three main types.

(a) Stone structures were characteristic of central, eastern, and northern Polynesia. The main features were a paved or gravelled court usually rectangular in ground plan and a raised platform at one end of the court. Elaboration varied in different regions as to the presence of curbing, walls, stone uprights, stepped platforms, stone seats, houses, images, additional courts and terraces, and special features such as the carved boards *(unu)* of Tahiti and the oracle-tower of Hawaii. Simple forms occurred in the atoll islands, the inland valleys of the Society islands, and the now uninhabited islands of Nihoa and Necker which lie to the north-west of Hawaii. The unroofed court accommodated a select congregation and the raised platform provided a sacred place about which the priests officiated.

In central and part of eastern Polynesia, the structures were referred to as *marae* but there are linguistic indications that the term *marae* more specifically indicated the court while the raised platform was usually distinguished by some form of the term *ahu*. In Easter island, the emphasis was on the raised platform with its stone images, and the term *ahu* seems to have included the whole structure with the sloping pavement in front of the platform. In northern Polynesia, the term *marae* disappeared and the Hawaiian structure received the name of *heiau*.

The thatched buildings that were erected on some courts for the housing of drums, sacred objects, images, and even priests, were accessory to the fundamental stone structure. It is probable that some of the simpler courts had no houses erected on them.

(b) Wooden structures were characteristic of the Tongan and Samoan groups of western Polynesia. They were built on the same architectural plan as the dwelling- and guest-houses which stood on stone platforms. Wooden fences were erected around the house to define a taboo area. The term *malae* (cf. Tahitian *marae)* was not applied to these sacred houses but referred to the village-green where open-air meetings of a purely social nature were held. The stone platform was accessory to the house and

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26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

T S 171 346 [342]

merely followed the pattern adopted with houses for human occupation. The fundamental element of the religious structure was the house in which sacred objects were kept and in which the priest might reside.

(c) No specialized structure. New Zealand, the southern region settled by Polynesians, was characterized by the absence of an elaborated pattern of religious structure. The paved *marae* court of central Polynesia with its religious significance was absent, but the term *marae* was applied to an unpaved social court before the village meeting-house. The New Zealand *marae* thus had an affinity with the Tongan and Samoan *malae* in that it formed an assembly-ground for social functions. The religious *ahu* of central Polynesia was divorced from the social *marae*, and under the name of *tuahu (tu-ahu)* was relegated to some selected spot outside the village. The *tuahu* consisted merely of a cleared space, a wooden post, an upright stone, or even of as many as five stones set upright by human agency. More often, however, the *tuahu* was represented by a selected outcrop of rock which the hand of man had no part in providing.

T S 171 368

T S 171 346 [784]

It is true that the dwelling-house occupied by the priest in New Zealand might be regarded as taboo by the general public from its association and the priest might be consulted there in his religious capacity, but there was no special complex as in western Polynesia. In New Zealand, the house was the house of the priest; but in Tonga, the house was the house of the god. Small sacred houses were erected on one or more piles, in which offerings for the gods were placed on occasions, but such buildings were isolated elements that lacked the definite relationship which existed between the raised wooden platforms *(fata)* for offerings and the religious *marae* in central Polynesia. The Maori seemed to be content to get into touch with his gods without the aid of the elaboration in religious structure which took place in the rest of Polynesia.

T S 776 778 171

Though the Polynesians created their gods from immaterial beings without innate material form, they associated them with certain material forms that the eye could see. The material representatives of the gods without form of their own may be classed into two groups, animate and inanimate.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

More modern sea-going vessels, including a government inter-island ferry and freighters, have replaced the early double canoes. This 1952 photo shows a sloop bringing a mother and her sick child from the island of Tafahi to a little hospital on Niuatoputapu in northern Tonga.

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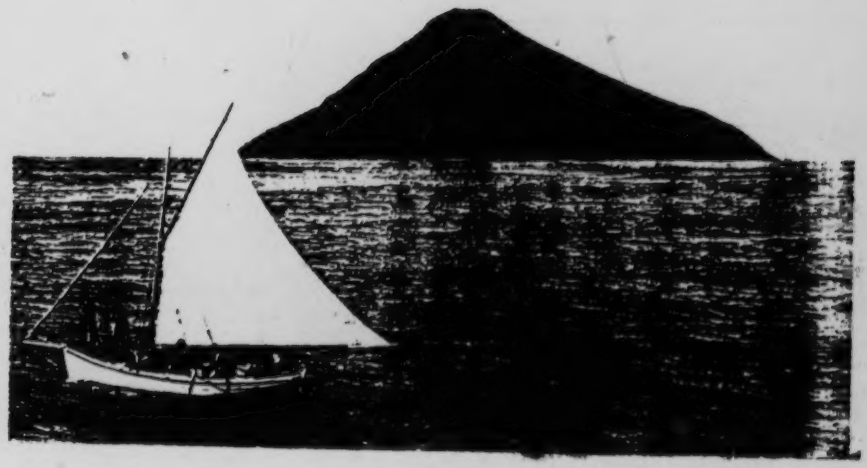
Kuo lahi eni he taimi ni e ngaahi vaka lalahi fakamisini 'oku ngaue'aki 'i Tonga, pea 'ikai toe ngaue'aki ai e ngaahi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua 'o ono'aho. Ko e ta eni na'e fai he 1952 'o ha vaka la lolotonga 'a 'ene 'ave ha fine'eiki mo 'ene ki'i tamasi'i valevale na'e puke ki he falemahaki 'i Niuatoputapu.

[p. 6]



Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances, for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers.

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation.

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.[12] 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

12. Beaglehole 1941: 128-129.

161 land available on 'Eua for settlement and cultivation, there
162 is no possibility that the island could support the kind of
133 density found on most of the other islands, owing to the nature of the terrain.

161 As Table 2 indicates, the burden of intercensal
162 population increase and inter-island migration has fallen
166 mainly on the island of Tongatapu. Tongatapu has 40% of
[131] the land area of Tonga and 60% of the population. The population of the island increased by more than 50% in the
161 ten years between 1956 and 1966. Much of this increase has
162 been concentrated in the urban area of Nuku'alofa, the
368 capital of Tonga. Thus, while the intercensal population increase for Tonga as a whole was 36%, and the increase for the rural areas of Tongatapu was 42%, the increase for the Nuku'alofa urban area was 79%. This includes the one-time village of Haveluloto, now virtually a suburb of Nuku'alofa, which in 1956 had a population of 292 and in 1966 had a population of 1,334.

161 In summary, there have been two kinds of population
162 flow in Tonga associated with the increase in population.
166 One kind of migration has involved settlement on islands that have land available for cultivation (primarily the island of 'Eua, but also some resettlement on Niuafo'ou beginning in 1958). The second flow has been towards the island of Tongatapu. On the remaining islands, the total number of people has remained relatively constant, but

this is only because there has been considerable migration from these islands. 161 162 166

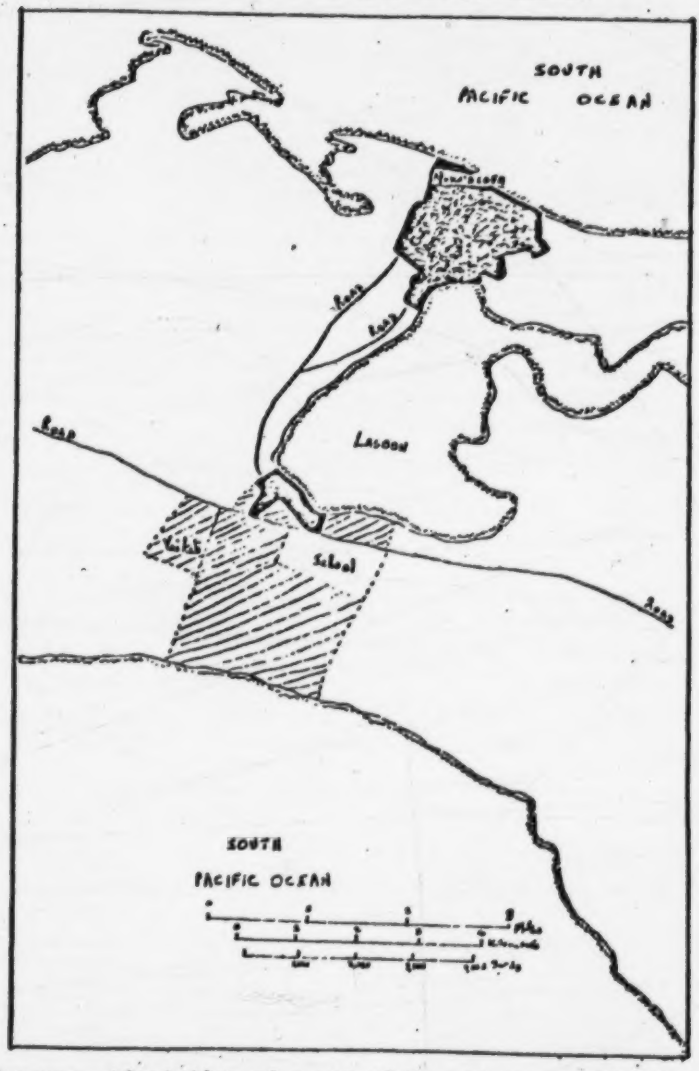
It would seem, then, that insofar as there has been pressure resulting from increased population, this has been concentrated in the Nuku'alofa area. To that extent, the problems of increased population in Tonga are mainly the problems attendant on rapid urbanization. However, that is not the full story, for the movement to Nuku'alofa is largely related to the landless condition of many of those who have migrated (Walsh 1969). According to the census of 1966, 52% of all adult males (i.e., men aged twenty and over) had no land to their names, whereas two-thirds of the men living in the Nuku'alofa area were landless. Unfortunately, there are no comparable statistics available for 1956, as no question about land ownership was asked in that census. There is no doubt, however, that landlessness is a growing phenomenon, related to rising population. This can be seen , for example, in the figures on land-holding, which shown an inverse relationship between landlessness and and age (see Table 3). 161 368 166 423 162 162 423 [561]

The significance of increasing landlessness stems from the fact that Tonga is largely a country of peasant proprietors, of people engaged in agriculture for household consumption and export who work on land that is under the control of a member of the household. In the census of 1966, 70% of all Tongan men between the ages of twenty and 162 423 241

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

MAP 4. Central Section of Tongatapu



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Source: Adaptation of a map of Tongatapu supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys.

361 Motulahi, 'uta covers an area of about one thousand acres and kolo is about one hundred acres. The description that follows refers to the residential sector of the village, unless otherwise noted.

The eastern part of Motulahi has been settled only [368] during the past twenty-five years. On this side, the village ends abruptly at the fenced enclosures of two schools, one on each side of the road (see Map 5). In the western part of the village there has been continuous settlement for a number of generations. This part of the village is known as loto kolo (the center of the village). Here the houses extend to the boundary with the neighboring village of Kolotau. Houses in Kolotau also come right up to the boundary, and where one village ends and the other begins is not apparent to the casual observer.

361 423 [451] Motulahi was surveyed in the early 1960s and 152 residential allotments were demarcated. All of these allotments (known as 'api, short for 'api kolo, 'town allotment') were already allocated, and all but twelve were [659] occupied during the period of my fieldwork. In loto kolo the survey confirmed the boundaries of existing house plots, some of which have been registered with the Department of Lands since the 1920s. These lots are irregularly shaped and most are larger, although a few are smaller, than the statutory size of 1 rood and 24 perches (2/5 of an acre). On the lagoon side of the road, however, all but

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga
Tongatapu
Motulahi

102
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MAP 5. Residential Sector of Motulahi

Source: Adaptation of various maps supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys, supplemented by fieldwork observations.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

lantern or a Coleman lamp.

In addition to town allotments, the residential sector of the village includes three churches, a government-owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open space between the noble's house and the main road. Except for the churches, the only non-residential structures in the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a corner of the owner's 'api), four privately-owned sheds, and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served by four schools and three burial sites or cemetries, all of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops, Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

The following data, which portray the history of settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu. These materials also indicate something of the operation of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation of the system is an integral part of the relationship between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

132 on February 16, 1970 to a nighttime low of 55.8° F. on July 17, 1970 (Tu'ipelehake 1970: 2).

Government and Political Organization

642 In June 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga emerged from status as a British Protectorate to a fully independent nation. Today the national government of Tonga takes the form of a constitutional monarchy. Tonga has
646 177 178 parliamentary institutions which appear to be based on a Western government model, but examination of content rather than form reveals Tongan principles at work.

> The Legislative Assembly is unicameral and consists of Privy Councillors, Cabinet Ministers, Representatives of the Nobles and Representatives of the People. Eleven councillors or ministers-all but two of whom are nobles, together with a further seven Noble's representatives, represent the traditional foci of leadership. They are theoretically counterbalanced by seven representatives of the people, many of whom in fact have been elected because of qualities important in traditional Tonga. The system bears superficial resemblance to its English model: it is western in its legal form, Tongan in its benevolent but autocratic practice (Walsh 1967: 120-121).

632 [504] Nuku'alofa, the major port, is the seat of government and the center of economic, social, and religious life of the Kingdom. Nuku'alofa [368] is also the location of most secondary schools and has the largest and [162] best hospital in the islands. With a population of 15,685, 21 percent of the Tongan population resides in Nuku'alofa. Between 1956 and 1966 [161] the town showed an increase in population of 70 percent (Fiefia 1968: 11). [179] Nuku'alofa is beginning to experience the problems of rapid population growth and the attendant phenomena of unemployment, crime, and the inabilities to handle new demands on government services. Walsh (1969:

368 366 Besides dwellings and the attendant secondary buildings, Puke has a church, a town building, a kindergarten, a clinic and a store. All except the last are grouped on a small piece of land donated by the noble for community purposes. The store is located next to the house of the store owner.

491 494 An unsurfaced road connects the village with the main road and buses traveling the main road are usually the only form of motor transport used by the villagers. 365 A power line runs beside the main road but no feeder line has been extended to Puke and there is no other source of electrical power. 312 The major sources of water are rain catchment and storage in brick and cement cisterns. There are also a few hand-dug wells from which water is obtained by rope and bucket.

Village Demography

162 [592] Village population in 1971 was 261 persons living in 42 households. Table 5_A^A describes the population by age and sex. The population has [166] grown considerably since 1955 due largely to migration from more remote [161] islands of Tonga (See Table 6_A^B for origin of household heads and Table 7_A^C for crude growth rates). 369 Puke, being close to Nuku'alofa, has experi- 166 enced the effects of rural-to-urban migration in the archipelago (See Walsh 1969: 95-98). Recent immigrants have come to Puke because it provides easy access to services centered in Nuku'alofa not available in most of the more rural locales. Opportunity for education and better health care are frequently given as reasons for wishing to live close 166 to Nuku'alofa. Informants also mention the greater availability of

A_A^A, B_A^A, C_A^A [See pp. 27-29 respectively--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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and quite fittingly the educational work of the mission was entrusted to him. It was then decided to move the training institution to Nuku'alofa which King George, who was now King of the whole of Tonga, had decided to make his capital. In this new site, Amos was able to try out among his students the Glasgow training system. The missionaries believed that this system would suit the 'romantic and showy nature of the Tongans'. The King entrusted the education of his heir to Amos, and the trainees in the institution included both men and women, among whom were the Queen and the Chief Justice of Tonga, Setaleki Mumui, and his wife, who proved to be an extremely intelligent woman and an excellent teacher. A report on the visit of H.M.S. *Meander* to Tongatapu in June 1850 praised Amos's institution very highly (*W-M Mag.*, Jan. 1852:104). Later, circuit training schools were established.

The promotion of the educational work of the mission culminated in the establishment of Tupou College by Dr J. E. Moulton in 1866. Like the famous Malua College of the L.M.S. in Samoa, Tupou College was educating 'choice young men who would ultimately fill important positions both in the Church and the State' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:76). With King George's approval, chiefs and commoners were treated alike in the school, and the only aristocracy recognised in it was that of educational achievement. In this way the Wesleyan missionaries, like their L.M.S. counterparts in Samoa, added to the Tongan social system a new élite of educated men and women (see Davidson 1967:37). The school produced not only outstanding ministers and teachers for the mission but also government officials and community leaders. Almost all the Premiers of Tonga since 1890 have been educated in this school. Families of commoner origin such as the Havea family[4] and the Taumaepeau family, whose founders were

[4] The first Tongan to be awarded a doctorate by any university was Dr John 'Amanaki Havea. He is at present (1972) the President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Before this, he was the Principal of the Methodist Theological College in Tonga, the first Tongan to hold that position. His father, Sione Havea, was a student of Dr Moulton. Later, he became the Head Tutor of Tupou College for many years. One of his sons, Sālesi Mānoa Havea, a distinguished lawyer and a member of Parliament, later became Minister for Police.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its development:

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W.M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages. Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself. Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God, their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

and mobs of untended horses roam through the island. It contains varied scenery, valleys, and precipitous cliffs lining the eastern coast.

TOGATABU. This name (Sacred Tonga), as well as the others used by the people (Great Tonga and Chiefly Tonga), attests the importance of the largest island in the minds of generations of Tongans. From the foundation of Tonga to the present it has been the residence of the kings and the centre of religious and social life, and modern investigation has confirmed the native tradition that Togatabu was settled before Ha'abai and Vava'u. The island is 99 square miles in extent, with its extreme length 18¼ miles and greatest breadth 9 miles. The southern coast is rather higher than the northern, where the capital, Nuku'alofa, is situated opposite the only openings in the reef which surrounds the island; but Togatabu generally is low, except in the east where the land rises to 270 feet. There are three main roads traversing the island from west to east and several cross-roads. The present population is 12,357, of whom 11,660 are pure Tongans.

Nuku'alofa is the capital, the residence of the sovereign, and the centre of government and trade for the whole group. The Palace and Royal Chapel are conspicuous buildings; and the royal dais in the chapel is finely carved. The tombs of the present line of kings are at Mala'e-kula, in the centre of the town. Behind the British Consulate is a hill (Zion), the site of the old fort described by Mariner.

Mu'a, which consists of two villages, Tatakamotoga and Labaha, was the ancient capital; the kings of the Tu'i Toga line after Tu'itatui resided at Labaha, as also did the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the southern village of Tatakamotoga belonged to the Tu'i Kanokubolu. In Mu'a there was also a renowned enclosure, Fanakava, which was a sanctuary for refugees from justice. The most remarkable feature of the Mu'a district is the series of 28 tombs (lagi) of the ancient kings. Each of these is a rectangular structure, covering as much as three-fourths of an acre, with from three to five terraces in pyramidal form, built of blocks of stone the largest of which weigh 30 tons each. Many of these tombs are well-preserved and easily accessible, especially the Baebae of Tele'a, whose smooth surfaces and L-shaped corner-stones have won the admiration of experts. Such striking examples of the skill of ancient Tongan stone-masons afford one of the finest sights in the South Seas.

At the extreme east of the island, at Heketa near Niutoua, there is situated the famous trilithon known as the Ha'amoga-'a-Maui. This was built by the Tu'i Toga, Tu'itatui, about the year 1200, probably as a gateway. The upright stones are 17 feet high, and the cross-piece is 19 feet in length. Nearby are the stone where Tu'itatui sat, the Maka Fakinaga, and two tombs from the same period.

The remains of "Captain Cook's tree," called Malumalu 'o Fulilagi by the people, may be seen at Alaki. It was here that Cook was entertained in 1777 when he visited the Tu'i Toga and saw the presentation of first-fruits.

Stalactite caves near Haveluliku on the southern coast, like those found in other parts of Tonga, seem to have been used for burials in ancient times.

178 After the supplementary Treaty of Friendship with Great
241 Britain in 1905, the mercantile functions of the traders
654 were reduced gradually and the Tongan government, with
[177] British guidance, assumed greater responsibility for
[647] economic and agricultural activities. Major moves to "Tonganize" or localize the commercial agricultural economy included: the appointment of an agricultural advisor in 1901 and a Director of Agriculture in 1939 (Maude, 1965:43-44); the formation of the Tonga Copra Board in 1942; and the formation of the Tonga Banana Board (now the Tonga Produce Board) in 1949.

177 The Tongan culture was strongly affected by the Second World War when Tongatapu became a staging area for shipping
[368] wartime supplies. Roads, wharves, a railroad, and the present airport at Fua'amotu were constructed. Of even greater consequence, the Tongan people received additional exposure to the workings of the cash economy as well as an introduction to an almost entirely new set of values, which differed radically from those of the missionaries and the elitist colonial administrators.

177 There continues to be a steady stream of temporary non-
167 Tongan administrators, teachers, technical experts and volunteers primarily from Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and, more recently, the United States of America, who continue to have an effect on the Tongan culture in spite of the current wave of Pacific Island nationalism and search for self-identity.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools, conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of Aleamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small. On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou". Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1832-1833]

by Aleamotu'a. It was an old canoe that proved unmanageable in the storm that struck it between Tongatapu and Nomuka, southern island of the Ha'apai group. During a battering of two days and a night the canoe was driven back, and at dusk on the second day it struck a reef. All the seventy occupants were swept into the sea. Mrs. Cross, a delicate woman, was struck repeatedly by the waves and she died in her husband's arms. He was unconscious when dragged ashore on the small island of Toketoke, near Atata, the island off the north-western tip of Tongatapu. Twenty-one were drowned. Mrs. Cross's body was washed up later at Hihifo and buried at Nuku'alofa. The bereaved missionary had lost all his possessions also. In the month following this tragedy he went alone to his task in Vava'u.

There was a heroic quality in this quiet missionary. After beginning his work in Vava'u Cross went, in May 1832, to the northern island of Niua Toputapu, 180 miles beyond Vava'u, and stayed there seven weeks winning converts. On 1 June 1833 Taufa'ahau also went to Niua Toputapu on a passing whaler, together with a teacher who was appointed to that island. The people were surprised to find that Taufa'ahau did not force them to change their religion although he did everything possible to expose the falsity of their idols as he had done in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Watkin afterwards reported (27 February 1834) that the first party to take Christianity to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west of Niua Toputapu, was menaced by the people according to their custom when any unexpected voyagers approached their lonely island; the Vava'u Christians had muskets but put only powder in them to frighten the islanders and gain a landing. Before long Christianity was firmly established on both these distant outposts of the Tongan group.

On 5 August 1832 Finau was baptized with the name of Zephaniah, together with eight of his children. A large chapel was built at the main village, Neiafu. On 9 August Cross held a service when the first post was driven. About 3,000 people were present at the opening service on 17 September.[30] First, the missionaries, Cross and Turner, entered, then the excited crowd trod on each other and almost pulled down the fence as they rushed to the doors. Vava'u became famous as "the land of chapels".[31] The enthusiastic villagers vied with each other in erecting ornate chapels — a characteristic of Vava'u ever since.

Before the end of the year 1832, 660 people in Vava'u were meeting "in class" and there were 1,012 in the schools. On 12 August 1833 the first Lovefeast in Vava'u was held, with 2,000 present; "the thing was new to the people . . . many wept".[32] The 1833 report for the District showed:

Tongatapu	955 members,	204 on trial,	840 scholars
Ha'apai	2,000 members,	1,084 on trial,	2,613 scholars
Vava'u	900 members,	1,500 on trial,	2,252 scholars

Finau died on 18 February 1833. He had nominated Taufa'ahau as his successor and there was no opposition to Taufa'ahau adding Vava'u to his own territory of Ha'apai. When Taufa'ahau was installed on 30 April all the Vava'u chiefs assented. Peter Turner was present when this occurred.[33] Some years afterwards it was said that Taufa'ahau was intended only to be regent for Finau's young son, Matekitonga, but there was no evidence of Finau having indicated this. Even if it were true, Taufa'ahau had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845 and had thus united all Tonga under his rule, and this took place before Matekitonga had grown to manhood. Captain Peter Dillon, arch-critic of Taufa'ahau and the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1853]

Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service. Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours' examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"! Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few years.

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.
(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.
(4) West. ibid, p.212.
(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.
(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.
(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.
(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.
(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.
(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.
(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.
(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.
(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.
(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.
(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.
(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.
(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.
(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.
(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.
(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.
(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.
(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.
(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

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[1856 - 1865]

Even if the king's attitude towards the missionaries was not the same as in earlier years, he was, generally speaking, on friendly terms with them and showed them much kindness. His personal exertions in rescuing Mrs. Amos and family from their mission-house in Vava'u, when it was demolished in the hurricane of 10 December 1856, was only one clear example.[38] He was also actively engaged in preaching, except during the period of the *tukuofo* incident. When Thomas Adams reported to Eggleston a spiritual movement in Vava'u in which more than a hundred were converted, these included some members of the king's family, and Adams especially mentioned the earnestness of Tupou's preaching.[39] The king frequently acknowledged his country's indebtedness to the Wesleyan Mission, for religious, educational, and social benefits. A signal mark of his gratitude was the building of a new chapel on Zion Hill, Nuku'alofa. Not only did he advocate and promote this and express his will that it should be opened free of debt, but he gave $2.000 as a personal donation and he was present daily directing the work of building. The chapel was opened in July 1865.

643 797 [368]

Nevertheless, there were more clouds on the horizon. Shirley Baker reported to Eggleston (21 April 1863):

> "The king has shown that he is determined to be king. He does not seem to have the same confidence in us as he had: he sees we are not exactly one!" (40)

This was an understatement indeed; and it came from Baker, who was prominent in the Mission quarrels and scandals of the next twenty years. The lack of unity in the staff became the undoing of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga, and it sprang especially from the rivalry of Baker and Moulton.

* * * *

James Egan Moulton was one of a line of preachers that went back to John Wesley's days. He was born in 1841 at North Shields, Northumberland, and brought up in a Wesleyan parsonage. He and his three brothers were all singularly gifted. The eldest was William Fiddian, headmaster of the Leys School, Cambridge, and a member of the New Testament Revision Committee, Westminster Abbey, 1870-80. The others were John Fletcher, who became a Lord Justice of Appeal, and Richard Green, Professor of English Literature, Chicago University. J. E. Moulton himself was a sound scholar in Hebrew and Greek, and was regarded by his brothers as even more talented than they. He offered for foreign missionary work in China; this was changed to Fiji, and he studied the Fijian language on the voyage from England. From June 1863 until May 1865 he was detained in Sydney as Acting Headmaster of Newington College, the newly-established Wesleyan boys' school. He was married in Sydney on 23 December 1864 to a niece of John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary.

797

George Tupou had ardently supported the work of Richard Amos and others in education; the schools had grown to 161, with 654 teachers and 6,164 pupils (in 1858). The king wanted education of a higher standard. When he heard of Moulton, he requested the Church authorities in Sydney to send him to Tonga instead of Fiji. Moulton arrived in Nuku'alofa on 30 May 1865. With intervals towards the end of his life he served Tonga for forty years. Moulton met the king's ambition for an advanced institution, and his genius attracted young men and, later, young women, who were introduced to knowledge of the outside world, past and present. His creation of an intellectual elite was not so fortunate in some of its effects.

643 871 797 893

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[1887]

The charges were attempted assassination and armed opposition to the king's government. Ten men were convicted and sentenced to death. As well as those directly concerned in the attack, others were charged as accomplices. One was David Finau, a minister and staff member at Tupou College, sentenced to 22 years' imprisonment as an accomplice, because some of the conspirators had visited the College on the previous night and had spoken to him about their intentions. 645 682 695

Though the Premier had succeeded in having the death sentence passed against ten men, he evidently did not wish it to be carried out; he went to the king and asked him to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. The king, however, was adamant and, after Baker left the palace, he gave orders at 2 a.m. for six of the condemned men to be taken to Malinoa, an island off Nuku'alofa, and shot at once. Incidentally, three of the six were Wesleyans, two were Roman Catholics, and the sixth was not identified denominationally. These six men were shot in irons and buried where they died. The Tongan people have regarded Malinoa as an accursed spot ever since these executions. When further executions were intended, the European residents of Nuku'alofa considered taking action to prevent these, and Baker himself countermanded the king's orders. 645 682 696

Moulton called at the palace on the evening of the attack on the Premier to express sympathy, and he was driven away with execrations by palace officials. Baker published articles for the overseas press blaming Moulton's followers for the whole plot, an allegation he withdrew before Sir Charles Mitchell. It was at Baker's suggestion that the king ordered the warriors to come from the north, although all the conspirators had been arrested days before they came, and Baker later admitted that his advice at this point had been unjustified. 645 797 [644] [643]

The men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, with their faces blackened according to the old customs of pre-Christian Tongan warfare, went on rampage through Tongatapu as in 1885, indulging in even greater savagery and destruction. They flogged the Wesleyans, destroyed gardens, shot pigs, and stole goods everywhere. 798 578 644

Because some of the plotters had visited Tupou College the night before the attack, it was singled out for punishment. The College was invaded and would have been looted but for Giles, the Consul, who intervened. Soon afterwards, on 5 February, the king ordered Tupou College to be closed; this, as Mitchell said, was "an arbitrary act". [368]

The hundreds of floggings of Wesleyans in January and February 1887 were more brutal than before. No restraint was exercised by the king or the Premier. The king's pre-Christian savagery seemed to have returned but his age, 90 years, can be urged in extenuation. The helpless state of his few adherents moved Moulton to petition for their removal from Tonga. There were only thirty-six left in Tongatapu, and, with others from the north, the total, including children, was ninety. They sailed on 14 February, not knowing their destination. Pylstaart ('Ata), the desolate remote island to the south, had been mentioned. After they had left, they were told they were heading for Fiji. They were taken to the island of Koro where they remained until 1890. Salote, the king's daughter, was one of these voluntary exiles. Another was Matcialona, a grandson of the king and future Premier. David Tonga, then stationed in Ha'apai, and his wife Rachel were in this party. Before their deportation, the Ha'apai Wesleyans had been confined in a room, 12 feet by 16 feet, with two windows and one door, all kept closed, and where it was impossible for the twenty-nine inmates to lie down at one time; 798 688 687 797 166 687 688

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Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted several weeks. 797

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union. 795

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built. 368 346

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly Church". 795 426 565 622

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief. 795 622 565

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education. 795 891

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George 795 873 [191]

/92 cont./

553 551 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 162 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives living. 632 [162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these [464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government [366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars; [493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the [363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too, [368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and [365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other [423] occupations.

621 162 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan villages

592 362

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

/93 cont./

368 there are three churches (party in Tongan style) in the settlement inhabited by only 200 natives.

[366] In addition, a village has a government school and often a Wesleyan school as well, one to four kautaha houses (meeting place of the women's cooperative for tapa- and mat-making) and one to four small (retail) shops.

361 Although most of the houses are situated on the roads that intersect
351 the villages, their distribution seems irregular. The broad grassy areas (265)

[245] 265. These are often interspersed with mango and bread-fruit trees.

on which they are situated are (in accordance with the law) cut short by the natives, but are often untidy looking. Since most individual plots are not fenced in and the neatly plaited fences of plantations and houses praised by observers in old times have long since been forgotten the villages give an even more unkempt impression.

361 These villages are a development of more recent times. In
178 ancient Tonga the houses of commoners were scattered throughout the
[491] islands; people lived on their plantations, (266)

266. Ellis writes, for example: "The houses do not form towns or villages, but are built about five hundred yards or more from each other and generally in the midst of a plantation, the whole of which is frequently fenced in with a hedge of bamboo, or reeds with a door-way"; /cited in English/ (W. Ellis, An authentic Narrative.../cited in English /. loc. cit. I. 1782 pp. 88/89.

and many roads made possible easy connection between the plantations. (267)

267. Reminiscent of this old way of settlement are the huts on individual plantations found even today on various islands, which are very

/95 cont./

476 [465] It may also happen that such a kautaha will hire themselves out for money to another villager by building him a house for a wage of, say, 30 pounds.

Such men's kautaha are found in most villages. Often they exist for a certain time only, for example a year, and the members then separate and look for other temporary or more permanent combinations. Much more significant in village life are the women's kautaha. Their sole purpose is to make, in a cooperative endeavor, long lengths of tapa and large mats for individual members who furnish the raw material (raw tapa or cleaned /96/ strips of pandanus leaves). For example, seven women will work five days a week (on Saturday they prepare for Sunday) and on each day will plait one mat; so that in the end five women will receive their portion of the work and the next week the other two will be supplied. Usually a capable older and more experienced man is "president" of such a kautaha; he is elected by the group for one year and may be reelected. In every Tongan village there is at least one such women's kautaha, and almost all villages have special kautaha houses for the aforementioned types of work. (270)

476 287 285 [461] 476 [368] [592]

> 270. A count in the 100 households of the village of 'Uiha (in April 1952) showed, for example, that at the time, in each of 59 households there was one female (wife, daughter, resident relative) who was a member of a women's kautaha, whereas in eight households there were two each, and in one household three females belonged to a kautaha. In 32 households no one was a member of a women's kautaha.

These kautaha are far more long-lasting than those of the men. Thus on Nomuka the four women's kautaha, the largest of which has 18, and the smallest six co-workers, were set up in the years 1922, 1942, 1945 and 1948. Based on the type of work they accept only a specific number of members. If a member dies, usually her daughter or a relative

/218 cont./

287 386 [461] [476] generally handled by a group of 10 to 16 women (girls). (571)

571. This is a work team (kautaha) (see pp. 137-140) that carries out the process under the supervision of an older woman; a woman seldom does this work by herself.

[368] They do this work in special houses (572)

572. fale kautaha = house of kautaha (see pp. 134-136, 137-140).

on a structure built of boards, some four to six meters long, that has the shape of a cylinder cut in half lengthwise and resting on its open side. This "drum" the women first wrap with coconut fiber cords, then lay over them "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) and on top of these they place the printing panels (kupesi); the latter are larger or smaller /219/ panels made of pandanus leaves of the paongo species and kaka 'i niu (that is, the natural tissue at the base of the leaf stem of the coconut palm) sewed together with hibiscus bast threads, on which various decorations made from the center rib (tu'a niu) of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm are fastened with coconut fibers (from the husk of the nut) and with single hibiscus bast threads. On top of these printing panels, to protect them, the women again place "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) as "pulusi" (covering tapa) which they press firmly against the relief-like patterns and rub with dye-soaked (koka-dye) scraps of tapa (tata). Then the glueing and dyeing (koka' anga) of the large tapa lengths can commence. On the prepared bottom [381] surface they place a first layer (laulalo) consisting of several feta'aki, (573)

573. The small holes which may result from beating the tapa are first glued with patches of the same material.

press it firmly with the dye-soaked scrap (tata), smear its surface with parboiled (poisonous) manioc roots (as glue) (tou) and place on

621 activity, being second only to the family in social unity. Even
621 within larger urban areas, village characteristics remain. The
369 capital, Nuku'alofa, still retains social divisions based on older village distinctions. For example, sections of the capital, such as Kolomotu'a, exhibit aspects of the former village social structure.

361 The 1966 census of population lists 152 villages within the Tongan Kingdom (Fiefia 1968, p. 39). The location of the majority of these villages is within a half mile of the sea, with relatively few being found within interior areas. The explanation for this distribution involves consideration of the insular nature of the nation, as well as the significant role the reefs and sea play in supplying the Tongan diet with protein. During the civil war period, the fortified structures were built on hills to facilitate strategic defense. For this reason occasional villages, built upon old fortress sites, are today located on inland elevations. This is most often the case in Vava'u (i.e., Feletoa, Mataika, and Leimatu'a).

621 All Tongan villages are similar in social character, with
369 differences stemming only from size. Larger villages are more urban
[368] oriented, and exhibit such recreational facilities as motion pictures, pool halls, and social halls. However, most Tongan villages number fewer than 400 total inhabitants, and have few distinguishing characteristics.

361 Some of the larger villages represent an amalgamation of two or more settlements which, following a period of expansion, joined together forming a cluster or elongated configuration. Nuku'alofa

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

3. a form of local government different from that of rural areas, as being more suited to the provision of necessary urban services, made possible by greater population concentrations and financial potential (Urbanization . . ., 1962, p. v).

Nuku'alofa is Tonga's center of economic and social activity. The urban area houses a rapidly expanding population in excess of 20,000, and has spread along the major transportation routes to the point where it has overtaken surrounding villages and formed a 1.5 mile arc, radiating from the waterfront. The population density is greatest along the peripheral edge of the city's central business district, and along the major transportation routes leading into the city. As the nation's capital, Nuku'alofa contains the majority of governmental divisions, including the royal family and all major ministerial departments. Although Pangai and Neiafu are also capitals, of Ha'apai and Vava'u respectively, they are greatly overshadowed by Nuku'alofa.

Pangai, the capital of Ha'apai, exhibits fewer of the urban characteristics found within Nuku'alofa. Smallest of the four Tongan cities, Pangai evidenced a decreasing population during the intercensal period of 1956 to 1966. However, within the Ha'apai island group, Pangai remains the focal point of governmental, social and economic activity. The recent construction of the Ha'apai airfield, and the development of tourism, is expected to forestall further declines in Pangai's population.

Neiafu, capital of Vava'u, is second only to Nuku'alofa in terms of commerce and economic development. Neiafu not only serves as the administrative center of Vava'u, but is rapidly becoming the most important tourist center in the Kingdom.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

166 871 During interviews with individuals who had migrated to Tongatapu, the most frequently offered explanation for this migration was the desire for the best education for the children, and a 873 subsequent qualification for careers in government service. Until 368 recently, Tonga's secondary schools were all located on Tongatapu. Even though secondary schools have now been built on the other islands, most informants believed that the Tongatapu schools are 871 superior. All such individuals expressed a willingness to temporarily lower their standard of living, undergo long periods of family separation or relocate the entire family, in order to achieve a long range goal of better education.

166 464 [871] A smaller number of informants migrated to Tongatapu, due to a desire for cash employment in or near the capital. However, in many cases both motives, education and employment, were influential.

166 The centripetal force of urbanization, as described by Fiefia in the 1966 census report, is noted particularly with regard to younger age groups. "The drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai, especially, and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (Fiefia 1968, p. 11).

Most of the internal migration is from rural to urban areas, 162 and Nuku'alofa is by no means the only urban area affected. The 166 1956 census listed six settlements, including the capital, with 161 populations in excess of 1,000. With the 1966 report this statistic had risen to 13. (Table 6 lists these settlements with the respective intercensal increases.) These 13 evidenced a combined

162 percentage increase of 48.3 percent of the total "urban" population
161 and represented in excess of 46 percent of the Kingdom's popula-
166 tion. Nuku'alofa alone accounted for nearly 21 percent of the
162 national population total.

[361] It is important to note that 9 of the 13 settlements (Table 6) are in the middle and eastern sections of the Tongatapu district, the areas where economic and educational activities are concentrated. These 9 villages represent nearly 60 percent of the island's population, with Nuku'alofa, alone, accounting for 32.4
361 percent of the total (Fiefia 1968, p. 10). An example of extremely
166 rapid village growth is the case of Haveluloto (Havelu). This rapid growth is the result of three factors:

1. The proximity of Havelu to Nuku'alofa attracts many people who could not find land within the capital.

[366] 2. The relocation of the Tonga Copra Board and the Tonga Construction Company, from Nuku'alofa to Havelu, was accompanied by a subsequent relocation of employees.

● [368] 3. The construction of a new island hospital within Havelu has attracted many residents.

361 The major road between Havelu's hospital and Nuku'alofa is solidly
491 lined with dwellings.

162 The four remaining villages of over 1,000 population, not found on Tongatapu, are divided evenly between Ha'apai and Vava'u.
162 Of these, Pangai declined in population during the intercensal
166 period, while the other three registered the lowest percentage
161 increases of the 13 settlements. This statistic indicates that movement from rural to urban areas was not as influential within

[See Category 162, p. 38--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 By 1956, this figure had increased to 9,200, and by 1966, to nearly
162 16,000 not including surrounding areas. Today, Nuku'alofa,
161 including the adjoining settlements, contains between 25 and 30
369 thousand persons. This number represents approximately half of the
162 population of Tongatapu and a quarter of the nation's total
population.

369 Nuku'alofa is not unique in these respects as many of the
171 same features of growth are common throughout Polynesia. However,
[166] unlike other Pacific cities, Nuku'alofa is almost totally unprepared
to absorb the continuing flow of 600-1,000 new inhabitants per year.
369 The city lacks strong local government and laws, contains inadequate
[364] water and drainage facilities, refuse collection, and sewage systems,
[464] all necessary for coping with a sizable population. In addition,
there are few opportunities for steady urban employment and,
therefore, many persons are underemployed semi-subsistence agricul-
tural workers dependent upon the production of others.

369 In these respects, one could justifiably argue that
361 Nuku'alofa is not an urban settlement, in the true sense, but
merely an agglomeration of three agricultural villages (Kolomofo'ou,
[368] Ma'ufanga and Kolomotu'a). The merging of these three villages
into one urban area resulted from the establishment of the royal
seat of power and the Wesleyan church headquarters at this loca-
tion, plus the fact that Nuku'alofa was Tonga's first international
369 port. The urban center of Nuku'alofa remains highly agricultural
[368] in nature. The city has acquired few new facilities other than
[166] those usually associated with administration and trade. Three

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

areas and in amusement facilities. This situation is often blamed for the rapid rise in crime in Nuku'alofa. Burglary is the most frequent offense, although the incidence of fighting, prostitution, and petty theft have recently evidenced significant increases. Subsequently, this continuous migration of young Tongans has become a concern at all levels of government in the Kingdom (Report of the Department of Justice 1973).

The most influential urban factor attracting rural individuals to Nuku'alofa is the opportunity of improved education. Nearly all of the secondary schools are on Tongatapu and most of these are in Nuku'alofa. The fact that substantial education is usually unnecessary for village life, and that there are few opportunities for gaining urban employment, is of little consequence in deterring this desire. As mentioned previously, families often entirely abandon their village residence in order to move into the city and acquire a better education for the children. Frequently, this migration is intended to be temporary. However, as the older children finish their education, the younger children begin. In addition, the older children often marry and, as a result, permanent residency is established. Tongans perceive education to be symbolic of prestige, even though the knowledge gained will be put to little use. Educational attainment is considered to be the simplest and most direct means to upward social movement.

The rural factors contributing to expanded urbanization are almost entirely related to the system of land tenure and agriculture. Pressure of population upon land resources has been shown to exist

[i.e., the high incidence of unemployment among youths in urban areas--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

000 the continued movement of people into the urban areas, principally Nuku'alofa.

3. A third recommendation for immediate implementation calls for quality inspection of food imports. The quality of most fresh meat and canned beef products is indicative of this necessity. As food products assume a greater proportion of total Tongan imports, the continued lack of efficient quality inspection is seen as detrimental to the health and nutrition well-being of urban Tongans.

In addition to recommendations for immediate action, it is advisable that long-term planning and implementation of the following be undertaken.

1. Agricultural education of extension services for use in [242] [368] all rural settlements is advisable. Such an undertaking is feasible considering the existence of the government farm on Tongatapu and the agricultural training facility on 'Eua.

2. Basic family hygiene and nutritional education is also advisable. The formulation and instruction of fundamental home economics or family ecology could easily be incorporated in the nation's secondary schools. In view of the fact that continuing education is viewed as a status in Tongan society and literacy is almost universal, it is reasonable to suggest such an introduction in the Tongan educational system would reach a large segment of the population.

3. A reorientation of the subject areas of emphasis in the educational system might also be a long-term goal. Development of technical skills, including construction and fundamental

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main yard!" As this had been already done some short time before to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing. He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

A [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]